2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

"The Keeper and the Sacred House go together. They were decreed in the beginning by Elder Brother" (2). Some thought that in very ancient times this Keeper was the only official. "He went to Elder Brother and got his directions. Then he came back and showed the people what to do" (20). "He went before them like a light. He was their teacher and their father" (40). "He got the Wise Speeches from Elder Brother himself" (4). He was, in fact, a priestly ruler, much like the cacique in the Rio Grande pueblos.

His principal duty was the handling of the fetish which gave the village rain and therefore life. This meant the care of the sacred house where the fetish was lodged on important occasions and, finally, the presiding over all meetings held there. In the earliest times, he lived in the ceremonial house and received the men there for meetings while his family slept. At present, he lives beside it and his wife keeps it clean.

The house was used for meetings both ceremonial and secular and, on such occasions, it was the Keeper's duty to make the fire (hence one of his titles) and then mount to the roof of his shade and summon the men. Sometimes he had younger men to perform both of these functions for him. He called meetings to decide on the dates of ceremonies and whenever the other officials, the war, hunt and game leaders, had communications to make. When the men assembled, he sat at the west of the house, facing the door and opened the meeting with a moral talk bidding them pay attention to what was to be said and use their best judgment.

He acted as priest in all the important local ceremonies held for rain, for growth and for cleansing of crops and must know the appropriate Wise Speeches for each occasion. One informant gave him perquisites which remind one most strongly of the Pueblo cacique. "He must not be bothered with quarrelling. The people used to till his land for him because he worked so hard in the ceremonies." Certainly his land is not tilled for him now, and I have known an old Keeper in actual want because even his young relatives neglected him.

Beside his priestly functions, the Keeper acted as a patriarchal advisor to the village. The importance we give to this duty must depend on whether we consider the secular governor a modern official or an old one. Certainly the reliance on some aged leader as a patriarch and almost a dictator to the village is a pronounced Papago custom. At present that leader is often the secular governor and we need to consider whether he has always had such functions or has taken them over from the priestly leader. In view of the frequent statements that the Keeper was once the only village head,

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793 I am inclined to consider the governor an innovation, gradually
●622 usurping the functions of the ancient informal leader and adding to
624 them.

Legends represent the people as applying in all crises to "him who goes before us" and taking his advice as to what to do. At present this ancient leader may still be the chief power in a village, sometimes using the secular governor as a "front" but in one case boldly issuing orders in his own name. However, his power is rapidly declining. The White officials take no cognizance of him and, unless he is a man of powerful personality, he is reduced to a routine ceremonialist who appears only once or twice a year. The list of villages shows an X against those which have a fetish and a Keeper of the Meeting. All the northern villages have both while in some of the southern ones, which have come under intensive Christianizing influence, both have entirely disappeared.

793 The Keeper generally chose his own successor in office from among the male members of his family best suited to the duties. Accounts of the exact arrangements for succession varied in different localities, some informants stating:

"The Keeper chose his own successor. Nobody could criticise," and also, "When a Keeper died, the Elders would go to his brother or someone and say: 'You knew his ways best. You had better lead us'." The latter would seem to be an occurrence of recent times, when anyone with ceremonial knowledge is hard to find.

I am inclined to give most weight to those accounts which state
[623] that the successor, having been chosen by the Keeper, must be approved by the council of elders since this is in accord with general practice in the area. If, according to these accounts, the elders disapproved, they would make their own selection and the Keeper would be obliged to instruct the new candidate.

Since the learning of the rituals was a very long task, the successor was chosen long before the Keeper was ready to quit his office and acted for years as a ceremonial assistant. Such a deputy was never a very young man since the young were not considered competent for ceremonial functions. He might be the Keeper's brother or a classificatory sibling somewhat younger than himself. At Santa Rosa the Keeper, who is somewhere near ninety, has an assistant of seventy who stands with him during rituals and sometimes makes the speech himself; this man is a very distant relative.

But the Keeper had also a young man as messenger, known as
[202] his Leg. This man often made the fire for him, called out the announcements if there was no crier and took messages to people at a distance. He was in line for the office and was expected to

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Fray Manuel was seeing the usual nightly gathering turned to the purposes of Christianity.

The repetition which causes the length of these speeches is not for the mere purpose of explanation. The writer once questioned a wise man as to the proceedings of a meeting which had lasted past midnight. He was able to state them very succinctly. "We said that at the festival a horse had disappeared, but it had been found at the house of a man in the next village who didn't know the owner. Then someone said that some spurs had been found, too, but they had been claimed."

"And was that all?"

"Yes. But everyone said what he thought about it."

The purpose of such repetition would seem to be an emotional one: the attaining of complete unity in the group. After an idea has been re-stated so many times and each man has had his share in sponsoring it, every man's conviction has been solidified and there is little danger of an unsympathetic minority. The long sessions before an agreement is reached have the same purpose. There must be no dissenting minority. Action will be ineffective unless the whole group acts with complete conviction.

This is the ideal of every village group and its method of attaining a strong government without any individual authority. Each man has been conditioned to agreement by the nightly recitations of the moral code which he hears from the age of puberty until death. The result is a "grounding in the faith" which few systems of education could better.

The likeness of the Papago plan of organization to that of the Western Pueblos, is very obvious, though these latter have elaborated a ceremonial organization impossible for the scattered Desert People. We may be seeing here a relic of the Puebloan occupation though we have still no means of telling how far its governmental pattern differed from that of the Papagos' linguistic relatives to the south. Certainly, the title of Bitter or Fierce Man for the war leader has an echo in Mexico.[1] The institution of the secular governor, who supplements the semi-priestly leaders, gives the Papago system an even further resemblance to the present outline of Pueblo organization.

POST-SPANISH GOVERNMENT

The Governor

The picture of council and ritualistic leaders without executive power, does not represent modern Papago government. That

[1] Cf. Nahuatl "Our wrathy chieftain" Bandelier, AA October, 1892, p. 319.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

622 government centers around an official whose mention has been delayed till the last because he differs, both in function and attitude from the old priestly leaders, who are completely out of touch with the new conditions. This is the secular leader, called by the Whites the chief, and by the Indians kovenal (governor). His function according to the governor of Archie, is to "keep up the morals of the village, deal with offenders and talk with the Whites." He is definitely an executive and, until the establishment of judges under the Indian service, he had police power. He is at present the most important person in the village, completely overshadowing the ceremonial officers and sometimes achieving dictatorship. Is his office also aboriginal or can it be traced, like those of the Pueblo governors, to a Spanish origin?

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175 The writer has discussed this question with many of the old men, particularly the governors and has been given the statement: "The Mexicans (or Spaniards? Papago makes no distinction.) told us to choose a man to take care of the people. At first we chose the Keeper of the Meeting but it was too much work, so we took another man."

Kino, in his various excursions, was accompanied by a representative of the Spanish crown who distributed to the natives canes of office.[1] That was undoubtedly the origin of the governor's office in the form it has today, for one of the governor's titles is u.sakam (staff bearer) and the staff enters prominently into his installation ceremony. The question is whether Kino delivered his staves to men who already had an office of a similar sort. Certainly he picked leaders of some kind to receive the honor and he generally speaks of them as chiefs.[2] Many seem to be chiefs over several villages, which would confirm the idea that there were, at that time as now, daughter villages subject to the parent.[3] But readers of Spanish accounts know that they must make allowance for the powers attributed to the Indian chiefs by the writers. Some of the Sóba Jipuri chiefs and captains mentioned by Kino (who uses the title indiscriminately) are definitely leaders in war[4] which was never the function of the governor. One conjectures that, with these people who were the bulwark against the Apache, the office of war leader may have grown important with use, as it did with Montezuma. Chief Soba, however, was leading his forty people on a food-gathering expedition,[5] a function quite possible for the

[1] Bolton, 1936, pp. 395, 398.
[2] Bolton, 1936, pp. 365, 398.
[3] Bolton, 1936, pp. 365, 367; Mange pp. 248, 249, 254.
[4] Bolton, 1936, p. 361. [5] Mange, p. 220.

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Keeper of the Meeting. To combat Kino's picture of the all powerful chiefs, we have the statement by Velarde whose view was that of a resident rather than that of a traveller:

"They have no government, laws or traditions and, in each village, no authority but the one who talks the most and incites them to fight against the enemy nations or who gives the signal for the time to hunt. There are prominent men who gain a following and whom the Spaniards call chiefs but they have no formal authority."[1]

Other Uto Aztecans, the Mission Indians, the Paiute, and the Hopi were without a secular leader[2] and it seems possible that the Papago office has developed as the need for it grew.

By a decree of Philip III, in 1618, every reduced Indian pueblo was to have an *alcalde* (mayor) and two *regidores* (judges). If it had more than eighty people, the number of officers was doubled.[3] The mayor was to enforce Spanish customs. He could punish the people for drunkenness or for failure to attend mass by one day in prison or by six to eight stripes — a completely un-Indian punishment. But he was to leave to the "*cacique*", the ancient Indian leader anything outside the "*mita*" or enforced service of the Indians.

As time went on, other Indian officers were provided for and a "reduced" pueblo was set up on the model of a Spanish village. A decree of the Royal Court of Guadalajara, in 1746, provided for governor, *alcalde*, *topiles* (policemen), war captain and *fiscal*, the church officer who took charge of tithes and marriages.[4] These are the officers of the modern Mexican village, so well established in their function that it is impossible to look behind them to any aboriginal organization. The royal representatives seem to have attempted something of this sort with the Pimans, for Kino mentions an assemblage at one of his Mexican missions of "the principal *caciques* and headmen of all this Pimeria and, from the most remote parts of it, "ten captains, twenty governors and twenty-six other justices, *alcaldes*, *topiles* (policemen), *fiscales mayores* (head church officers) *alguaciles* (sheriffs) and *fiscales ordinarios* (minor church officers)".[5] In the San Pedro valley, he gave many staves of "governors, justices and captains,"[6] and he frequently

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[1] Velarde, Sec. 2, p. 134.
[2] Appendix II.
[3] Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias, Madrid, 1756 II, p. 198.
[4] Rudo Ensayo, pp. 225—6, Doc. Hist. III, vol. 4, 592.
[5] Bolton, 1936, p. 291.
[6] Bolton, 1919, vol. I, p. 171.

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was guided on his trips by Indian "justices".[1] Just how universal the system of appointments was, he does not say, but the complexity of organization probably depended on the size of the town since the "very great rancheria of Adid" received a governor, chief *fiscal* and sheriff, while Anegam and Bitter Wells received only one cane apiece.[2] But if the Piman villages once had a complete outfit of officials, they lost them in subsequent years and there remained only the governor whose functions as leader and judge were so like those of the old Keeper of the Meeting that the people found them easy to accept. Governor and Keeper existed and still exist, side by side, but the governor, on account of his connection with the Whites, continued to grow in importance, while the Keeper subsided. The governor is now the village dictator and it takes inquiry before the existence of a Keeper can be established.

The governor had an assistant, sometimes more than one, called his Leg. He was generally a young relative, chosen by the governor himself and trained as his successor. He can hardly be thought of as a lieutenant governor for his duties were the menial ones of carrying the messages and doing the whipping. Still, he was sometimes inaugurated with the same solemn speeches and warnings as were given the governor (40).

The governor attained office in various ways. The decree of 1618, mentioned above, provided that the Indian officials should be elected every year in the presence of the parish priest. But the Papago villages (except Bac) had no parish priest and they soon relapsed into their traditional method of choosing an official by heredity, subject to the approval of the villagers, and holding office for life. The different villages, in time, worked out slightly different methods. At Kaka, "the elders gathered around the fire and talked until they settled on a man wise, kind-hearted and brave" (41). At Santa Rosa, the governor selected his successor just as did the Keeper of the Meeting. He would announce his selection by standing up in full council meeting and pointing his staff of office at the candidate. Then the elders must approve and, on the rare occasions when they did not, another man must be suggested (15). At present, there is a growing tendency to elect the governor though, in consonance with old custom, the first candidate thought of is generally a descendant of the former incumbent. Two new settlements, Imikah and Burnt Saddle, had governors appointed for them by the representative of the Indian Office and the docility with which these were accepted supports the idea of the governorship as a foreign institution.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 284.

[2] Bolton, 1936, p. 398.

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The governor had, sometimes, a very formal installation. At Archie, the former governor, if still living, handed him the staff of office, with a formal speech of admonition. Then each of the elders, in turn admonished him: "You will have a hard time. The people will not agree with you. But we have chosen you as one who will do right" (40). Most northern villages seem to have had the same ceremony but in Mesquite Root and Cowlic the badge of office was not a staff but a rawhide whip. A whipping post was set up in front of the governor's house and he was expected to chastise offenders. This is an institution not found in the north nor among the Pima. Out of harmony with the usual Papago practice whose only punishment is public disapproval, it points to a Spanish tradition. Church records mention whipping as the regular punishment for Indian neophytes around a church settlement and the missionaries were sometimes accused by laymen of choosing the most cruel of the Indians as governors in order to maintain discipline.[1]

But, however the governor was installed, his appointment was not ratified until he had journeyed to Hermosillo, the Sonoran capital to "get his power." How ancient this practice is, there is no means of telling, for Papago makes no distinction between Spaniard an Mexican and knows nothing of Mexico's war of independence. Orosco y Berra mentions it in 1848 as a long established practice[2] and the Papago informants confirm it.

In 1854 the Americans came into power and their representative[3] summoned all the existing chiefs to be informed of the change of government. The San Xavier calendar stick has a long record of the occurrence.[4] They met at San Xavier and those present were: Many Skirts, for Archie; the Gambler, for Mesquite Root; Green Mesquite, for Kaka; At-the-Base-of-the-Sunset, for Anegam and Gold Ears, for Tecalote. All these were confirmed in office and Archie was given the hegemony. From this date, the succession of chiefs is known and their authority very much enhanced.

These appointments cover only five main villages whereas there were already eleven. The custodian of the calendar stick says that several of the five considered themselves overlords over two or three villages. Thus the Archie jurisdiction included Santa Rosa, Komarik and Akchin and Kaka included Kupk and Hikiwanyi. There were

[1] Cancio, quoted in Bancroft V, 1, 571.
[2] Orosco y Berra, p. 346.
[3] Bancroft, Arizona and New Mexico, Vol. II, p. 544.
[4] Underhill, 1938, p. 25.

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622 175 613 small federations existing and indicating, perhaps, that the leading village had been the parent of the others. But the whole of Papaguería was never federated except in theory. The American idea of government demanded that there should be one head chief for all the Papago and Archie claimed the position. "But Gold Ears of Tecalote never had anything to do with the Archie chief.. His village was not related and so he ruled by himself" (40). This indicates how little weight the head chieftainship had with the Papago. After the death of Many Skirts, Con Quien of Mesquite Root wished to be considered the head chief and was so spoken of by some of the White settlers but "the people did not follow him."

622 With the recent forming of daughter villages, several new governorships have arisen, each subsidiary to the rule of its mother village. Standing Rock was colonized from Mesquite Root and regarded that town as its superior until it was abandoned; the colonists turned to Archie, related to Mesquite Root. Tobacco Mountain in the Archie valley had no chief until one of its leading residents was constituted chief, out of hand, by the representative of the United States government (2), but he also is considered subordinate to Archie. Finally he took two or three other settlements under his wing. One of them, San Isidro, now feels itself large enough to have a chief of its own and has picked a man who will be submitted to Archie for approval. When Imikah, near Hikiwanyi, was settled, the Indian agent again asked one of the residents to act as chief but the chief of Hikiwanyi considers him a subordinate and countermands his orders when he disagrees. The system by which the governor of the main village is the superior of those in the daughter villages must be a firmly entrenched one since it holds good, even against the prestige of American appointments.

The governor can be deposed if he is "not good for the people." According to the governor of San Pedro, the elders meet in his absence and make the decision, then one of them calls on him privately and invites him to "take a rest. Some one else will do the work."

622 623 The governor, in spite of a growing importance, is supposedly subject to the will of the council. This fact was used when the famous Hunter claim came before the supreme court in 1910. The governor of Santa Rosa had signed a deed giving half the land of the village to a certain Hunter in payment for legal services. The court ruled on the evidence that no one man was entitled to sign for the whole village and the governor had no such power.

622 The office of governor, starting perhaps from the informal leadership of "him who talked the most" has come to be the pivot of present day Papago organization. The White authorities who are

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

constantly needing advice in important decisions, cannot summon a whole council nor wait for its deliberations. More and more the governor has come to stand for his village. He must make a decision and report it to his council rather than wait to receive orders from them. The course of events has placed him in the position of dictator rather than mouthpiece. 622

His authority as a judge has lapsed, since the institution of regular native judges and policemen. But that also grew, under Spanish and church influence until he conducted a form of domestic relations court, to be further described below. We may wonder at the docile acceptance by the Papago of the whipping which was so out of keeping with their own highly democratic organization. They accepted it, apparently, as part of that visitation which also gave them new foods, tools and cattle and it added enormously to the prestige of the governor who practised it. In short, the two centuries and more since Kino's time must have seen a decided shift in Papago government from the informal conduct of an intimate group which was handled like a family, by admonition rather than formal law, to the establishment of an executive power which, in response to the need of the day, is still growing. The old Papago system allowed very little scope to the ambitious man, which gives another reason why the new openings to authority were so eagerly seized upon. Yet there are still individuals who regard themselves simply as the mouthpiece of the council, while others have the attitude of the responsible patriarch and others again are practically dictators. 622 178

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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never tasted anything like it. Wheat flour makes me sick! I think it has no strength. But when I am weak, when I am tired, my grandchildren make me gruel out of the wild seeds. That is *food*.

I used to help my mother. When I was very little I began to grind the seeds, just for a short time. When I was ten years old I did it all, for then a daughter should be able to take over the work and let her mother sit down to baskets. But I am telling you about the early days when I could only grind a little. Then we pulled the grinding slab inside the house by the fire and my mother knelt behind it. I picked the dirt out of the seeds and handed them to her, and the pot boiled on the hearth on the three stones that we kept there.

My father was very busy, for he was the chief of our village. People used to bring their quarrels to him, and I remember him sitting crosslegged under the arbor we had to keep off the sun, listening with his head bent and his arms folded, while people talked.

"My daughter disappeared with a man on the last night of the maiden's dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen," said my father. He was a gay man who liked to war and to gamble. He did not like to beat women.

Some days nobody would come, and then he would gamble with the other men, throwing the sticks that we use for dice, and then moving stones around a circle as many moves as there were marks on the stick. We used to hear the men singing in a low tone, before they threw, to give them luck:

Down I shall throw
The smooth stone I shall move
Move it to the corner.

They smoked, too, and I can smell their tobacco yet, the strong wild tobacco that we do not have any more. It was tied in a long corn husk, so white, so nice, and when one man passed it to another he said: "Friend!" And the other said, "Friend."

When the sun was high, high, my brothers and my sister came home, and as each one came my mother gave them food. She dipped the gruel out of the pot into a bowl, for my mother was a good potter. We all had bowls in our house. Only my father and my mother ate out of the same one laughing together, because they liked each other. When my mother dipped out our food she said: "Do not eat it hot. You will have wrinkles." She set mine on the grinding slab to cool. "It will make you industrious," my mother said. My father said to the boys: "Do not eat it hot, no matter

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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So he talked to them, and then they spoke of whether they would widen the ditches and if the boys were practising well for the races, and maybe a man from some other village was there to tell them the news. There was not a man among us who would miss that meeting. 159X 619 721

We women sat in the dark, under the shelter, and told about the strange things we had heard. We told how there is a root which men carry to make the deer come to them and it makes women come, too. It smells strong and sweet, and you can smell it on the sweaty hands of a man beside you in the dance. If it is very strong and has been used in many love matches, sometimes it turns into a man. It walks up beside a woman while she is sleeping and makes her dream. 159X 517 [332]

We told how, in our village, a girl was struck by lightning. Someone must have been menstruating and not have confessed it, said the medicine man. So he called all the girls, took out his crystals and looked at them. "It was the girl herself," he said. "She has killed herself." 159X 761 821

We told how, when a woman does not seem to care for any man or a man for any woman, that person is really married to a snake. There was a man in our village who used to go out alone into the desert and disappear in a wash. His parents followed him and found there a little red snake with her baby snakes on her back. They said to their son: "What! have you a family of snakes?" He said: "No, she is a beautiful woman." That is how snakes fool you. The older women used to tell us, too, that if we thought too much about any boy before we were married, that boy would seem to come and make love to us. But it would not be he, it would only be a snake. So girls must not think too much about boys. That was what the old women told us. We must not think about boys and we must not talk to boys. When we were married it would be time enough to speak to a man. Now it was better to work and be industrious. 159X 834 864

So I worked. But I used to think while I was sitting under the shelter with my basketry, about whether I would get a good man and whether I would like being married. I used to hear a good deal about married peoples' troubles, because my father was chief in Mesquite Root. Married people who had quarrels brought their troubles to him. There was a post in front of our house where people were beaten who did wrong, and all the village would come to see and talk about what happened. 159X 622 681

Once I remember how a wife came, very angry. She had walked a long way to tell about her husband. "He beats me," she said to my father. "You who are One Made Big Over Us, he beats me! But I love him." My father used to smile at things like that. He was a warrior and a gambler. He did not care about beating women. But he always settled things for them. So 159X 684

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY IN THE VILLAGE

622 Authority in the village is vested in the chief or *kobanal* (from the Spanish *gobernador*) and his two assistants. According to custom—since there is no written law for village affairs—these offices are elective. In some villages the chief always comes from a certain family, but this is by no means universal. (In Topawa the man who was chief at the time of the field work for this study was not closely related to any of his three most recent predecessors.) The chief holds office until he wishes to retire or until the people become dissatisfied with him.

The chief seems to function as judge, mayor, and sheriff combined. He is called on to settle personal disputes over family problems, divisions of lands, disagreements over water, damages done by straying cattle, and all the miscellaneous problems that arise wherever people live together.

623 In his nonjudicial capacity, the chief is the head of the village council, composed of all the men of the village. In the old days they met every evening in the village "round house,"[2] but nowadays meetings are less frequent and regular. Here all the village problems are discussed: lands are assigned for farm use; stock-owners air their problems, and the doings of the Agency are talked over. Everyone has his say if it takes all night. In the old days unanimity of opinion had to precede a decision, for the concept of majority rule was not known to the Papago. Nowadays, there is not always unanimity for the simple reason that there is not time. A government proposal may have to be accepted or rejected, and white men call for prompt action.

623 561 The analogy to the patterns of authority in the household is striking. The principle of seniority prevails, and men under twenty-five ordinarily do not say much in council meeting. Some young men nowadays attempt to speak out before they have had enough experience to know much (according to Papago standards); but, even if their ideas are good ones, they gain scant consideration. It is the elders who do most of the talking. The chief is in somewhat the same position as the family head; his decisions are final, but he is obligated to consult all the others, to find out "what people think about it."

184 622 The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs prevails in most parts of the Reservation. The people of the western villages, however, say that their chiefs exist only in the imaginations of white people, and it is true that they have no elected officials or formal council meetings. Yet in every western village except Hickiwan, there is an old man who by the force of his personality has attained the leadership of his community. (In Hickiwan a relatively

2. An old-style round building thatched with grass. In some villages the house is now a rectangular adobe building.

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[text continues on p. 65—Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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young man, one of the district councilmen, is regarded as chief by the Agency but not by his own people.) Though no regular council meetings are held in these villages, the men meet informally to discuss problems when they arise. It is probably significant that all the three "strong men" of Hickiwan District are medicine men, but how much of their strength is due to fear of their supernatural power is a matter for speculation.

Papago who have disputes to be settled have considerable leeway in bringing their complaints before authority. If a man wishes, he can take his case direct to the tribal court (see chap. vii) rather than to the village chief; or the district councilman, who in some cases is a man of great influence, may be called on for a decision. In one case known to the writer the defendant was not satisfied with the tribal court's decision and so brought the matter to the village chief, then through the district councilman back to the tribal court. There were apparently no negative sanctions in the village against this procedure; a man is free to take his legal problems where he pleases.

However, in all the western villages disagreements are settled locally, and there is no recourse to the tribal council or court. Local quarrels may be noised about the district but not far beyond, as controversies are concealed or glossed over before outsiders. Owing to recent unhappy experiences (see chap. vii), the Reservation police thereafter refused to go to Hickiwan District. The people are well content with this situation, for they are determined to keep the management of their affairs in their own hands.

Throughout the Reservation, matters which require local co-operation and leadership are handled without friction. Leaders, elected or otherwise, are respected by the people because of their position. Their decisions and those of the council are accepted when the people feel that such decisions are based on a thorough knowledge of the recognized way of doing things and are made after discussion and expression of "what all the people think." Papago know that they are free to express disagreement, but usually would rather accept a decision with which they are not entirely in accord than to stand out from the crowd and make "people talk."

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Some present-day Papago villages are in the same locations as they were in Kino's time, and others are offshoots of these old villages, probably dating from the cessation of pressure from the Apache. Ties between the parent-village and those formed from it remain close. People visit back and forth, they co-operate in roundups, and they are sure to attend one another's fiestas, but the degree of interaction is determined by blood ties and proximity.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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796 matter how many small arroyos there are, the clouds cover them all. When the rain comes down, the flood carries along the sand and the loose trunks and the sticks and fallen branches, piling it all up. The clouds and the winds get up and stop in the west, whence the rain spreads over this poor earth. When shall we see this again?" The speech was briefly answered at each mat, and from either side the friendship which they all felt for each other was emphasized. The singing was quite enjoyable and there was a pleasing atmosphere of antiquity about the proceedings. Finally, the chief arose to make a speech in which he warned every one to behave properly while partaking of the wine which had been brewed in the houses.

The official part of the festival now being over, people repaired to the houses, where the sahuaro wine flowed through the evening and night. Friends from the neighboring country added to the merriment. Both men and women become intoxicated on such occasions, and, formerly, quarrels of long standing were settled at the feast according to the laws of the vendetta. Murder used to [622] be of frequent occurrence, but, to prevent the possibility of quarrels ending in a fatal way, the chiefs of our time are wise enough to gather up beforehand all the knives, pistols, and rifles, returning them to the owners after the conclusion of the festival.

222 It should be noted that in March, about the time of the equinox, a ceremony, accompanied by singing, is performed to insure a good sahuaro harvest. Seeds of the fruit are ground and put in a basket into which also

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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family had arrived, so we continued our journey toward the southern end of the Quijotoa Range.

136 In the evening mosquitoes and other insects gathered around the lantern and small brown beetles crawled inside of my trousers or through my hair, reminding me of tropical climates. Next morning, before starting, I had a refreshing bath in a small water-hole, while a butcher-bird (*lanius*) in a near-by bush sang with all his might, apparently enjoying the changed conditions as much as myself. This bird was often seen in the desert, often 132 far from water. Although the thermometer registered as high as 92° F. in the warmest part of the day, still the atmosphere, refreshed by the storms, felt remarkably cool, and the weather was cloudy.

133 The southern part of the somewhat extensive Quijotoa Range, separated from the rest, is called by the Papago, Kihotóak (*kíbo*, burden basket; *tóak*, mountain), said to be derived from its shape. The Spanish name of the whole range is a corruption of this native 622 name. I was glad to find Chief Alvina in his camp, which was in close proximity to great forests of sahuaro on the slopes along the eastern base of the mountains. [574] He brought me as a welcome some pitahaya fruit which tasted remarkably well. All the rest of the fruit gatherers had already left, for the sahuaro season was over, though [37] there were still to be found pitahayas, the other savory cactus fruit of the region. There was no pasture; our horses fed on rolled oats, besides relishing the leaves of the palo fierro (iron-wood) tree.

The chief was perfectly willing to be interviewed for

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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hours. He thought the number of the Papagoes was decreasing. Few old men were seen any more. The food which is gradually supplanting their native dishes is injurious to the health of the Papago. Children were no longer obedient. The young men nowadays are seized with restlessness and want to leave for other parts of the country; nobody takes care of them, and they die early, he complained. We took a walk together, and he pointed out to me the ripe nuts of the *jójoba*, a bush of common occurrence in that country. They are eaten by the Indians and have rather a pleasant flavor. As they contain a great deal of oil, they might compete with peanuts in the oil industry of the world, were it not for the slow growth of the bush. Mr. M. G. Levy, mine-owner and store-keeper in Ajo, thinks that they will prove of importance as cattle food and that they should be cultivated. Among the frontier population the oil has great reputation as a hair restorer.

On two afternoons we had quite heavy showers, and I felt some regret at having disposed of my large, though inconvenient tent at Indian Oasis, taking with me only the fly. Pablo and I were drenched and so were our blankets. It would have been difficult to make a fire but for the presence of the small resinous bush called *tovoso*, which burned lustily in spite of being dripping wet. We tore the bushes up entire and kept up a bonfire by which we dried ourselves and cooked our food. I began to wonder whether this could truthfully be called a desert.

17:Castetter & Underhill N.E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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Indian games of hidden ball, stick dice, and "quince" was one means to fame and prosperity. Athletic contests in which the youths of the different villages contended at kick ball and relay racing were yearly events, and a fast runner, famous in racing, was as highly esteemed as any warrior.

In government[1] the Papago unit was the village. There were several large villages, each with a few outlying settlements which were governmentally a part of it, obeying its officers and taking part in all its ceremonies. The head man of this village had no executive authority but was rather a patriarch and a priest. He knew the ritual for the different ceremonies and had charge of the sacred objects belonging to the village. His title has been translated "Keeper of the Smoke."

The brush house in which he lived was made extra large and was used as a meeting place by the men of the village, who formed an informal council. The Keeper of the Smoke passed his functions to a male relative or descendant, but there was no rule of primogeniture. Any of his relatives who seemed best suited would be instructed by him in the duties of office, but the village as a whole must finally ratify the choice. The villages each had a crier who called to the council meeting and to war. They might have an elected war leader if the Keeper of the Smoke were not fitted for battle.

After the coming of the Spaniards a much more rigid organization was adopted. The Spaniards installed in their villages a "governor" who was an executive with authority and power to punish evil doers by flogging. At least in the part of Papagueria nearest to Mexico this custom continued until recent times, so that now there is much confusion between the old idea of the village patriarch and the modern one of governor or chief.

The Papagos were divided into sibs with descent in the male line. Even in tradition, however, these gentes did not affect the marriage rules; one knew to which gens

1. This section dealing with government and social organization has been abstracted from *Papago Social Organization* by Ruth Underhill (in preparation).

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Again the key to the puzzle lies in lack of social sanctions in the Papago group in the camp. The Desert People come from several hamlets on their reserves to any camp, usually. There is no community leader nor community sanctions to motivate them. The "chief" turns out to be merely the patriarch leading one large extended family. Among this group of his own kin, he receives considerable respect, but carries less authority than many Anglo patriarchs. Among unrelated families, even those from his own village, he has none. This camp operators do not realize, having assumed that a Papago patriarch conforms to their concept of an Indian chief. (This mistake has been made repeatedly in U. S. history by Anglos who insisted upon projecting the concept of "chief" derived from Anglo-Saxon protohistory into American Indian society where it was not and is not true.)

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The heterogeneous group of Papagos in a camp no more constitute a socially integrated group with recognized and effective social sanctions than the racially heterogeneous residents of a miscellaneous camp. While they do not like being talked about by other Desert People, they do not act to forestall such talk as they would to keep their relatives and neighbors at home from talking. So camp grounds accumulate trash.

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In labor camps the Desert People are also away from home in mental attitude as much as in physical being. They feel themselves in a white man's world, where they should act as white men--and they see an example of uncleanly whites in labor camps as a pattern. They cannot act better than they are taught. They cannot act according to standards in the minds of cotton growers or city newspaper reporters which are invisible--they can learn only what they can copy from sight. This fact explains why what social scientists call "acculturation" (adjustment of people of one culture to habits of another) takes place when people meet face to face. An example from history illustrates clearly. The Papago word for "cat" is copied from the old Spanish cat call rather than the Spanish name-word because the Indians saw and heard Spaniards calling their cats, and could associate call and animal. They could not learn the Spanish name for cats, which was invisible and silent in the minds of the Spaniards.